

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 IO-13  
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 PRS-01  
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 DOE-11 SOE-02  
CU-04 BIB-01 HA-05 /110 W  
-----101873 311737Z /43

R 311457Z JAN 78  
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2613  
SECDEF WASHDC  
INFO USMISSION USNATO  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USNMR SHAPE  
USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0013

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM USREP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PARM, NATO  
SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: JANUARY 31 WESTERN PLENARY STATEMENT

THE 158TH PLENARY MEETING OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, AND  
THE FIRST OF THE FOURTEENTH ROUND, WAS HELD ON JANUARY 31  
UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF CANADIAN REP (COX) WHO ALSO  
DELIVERED THE OPENING STATEMENT. POLISH REP (STRULAK),  
WHOSE PRESENTATION IS REPORTED SEPARATELY, DELIVERED THE  
ONLY OTHER STATEMENT. THE CANADIAN STATEMENT EXAMINED  
VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND IDENTIFIED SOME  
SPECIFIC AREAS WHERE A MORE FORTHCOMING EASTERN POSITION  
COULD LEAD TO PROGRESS IN THE TALKS. THE MAIN POINTS  
OF THE STATEMENT, THE FULL TEXT OF WHICH FOLLOWS BY AIRGRAM,  
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WERE:

1. FIVE YEARS AFTER THE FIRST STEPS IN THESE TALKS,  
PARTICIPANTS HAVE ACQUIRED A BETTER MUTUAL UNDER-  
STANDING OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED BUT HAVE NOT RESOLVED THE  
BASIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES NOR BROUGHT A  
SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT WITHIN SIGHT.

2. WESTERN GOVERNMENTS REMAIN DETERMINED TO REACH AN AGREEMENT BUT THIS WILL REQUIRE FLEXIBILITY AND REALISM FROM ALL PARTICIPANTS.

3. WESTERN PARTICIPANTS BELIEVE THAT A HIGH PRIORITY MUST BE GIVEN TO THE DATA DISCUSSION SINCE AN UNAMBIGUOUS UNDERSTANDING OF ACTUAL EASTERN AND WESTERN MILITARY MANPOWER LEVELS IN THE AREA IS A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR AN AGREEMENT ON REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS.

4. WESTERN PARTICIPANTS BELIEVE THAT ANY REMAINING PROCEDURAL OBSTACLES SHOULD BE OVERCOME SO THAT THE EXCHANGE OF FURTHER DATA, WHICH BOTH SIDES AGREE IS REQUIRED, CAN TAKE PLACE EARLY THIS ROUND.

5. A MAJOR OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS IS THE EASTERN REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THE INHERENTLY EQUITABLE OBJECTIVE OF APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND FORCES AS THE OUTCOME OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

6. IN THE INTERESTS OF REALISM, THE WEST IS NOT SEEKING PARITY IN ALL FORCE ELEMENTS BUT ONLY PARITY IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AND A REDUCTION IN THE EASTERN SUPERIORITY IN MAIN BATTLE TANKS SINCE THE LARGE MANPOWER AND TANK DISPARITIES CURRENTLY FAVORING THE EAST ARE THE MAIN DESTABILIZING ELEMENTS IN THE EXISTING SECURITY

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SITUATION.

7. ANOTHER OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS IS THE EAST'S UNDER-EVALUATION OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS THE WEST HAS PROPOSED TO TAKE UPON ITSELF AND ITS UNDERESTIMATION OF THE DAMAGE IMPLEMENTATION OF EASTERN PROPOSALS WOULD INFILCT ON WESTERN SECURITY.

8. THE EAST HAS FAILED TO RESPOND ADEQUATELY TO THE WEST'S NUCLEAR OFFER OF DECEMBER 1975 WHICH SUBSTANTIALLY CHANGED THE OUTCOME OF AN AGREEMENT ENVISAGED IN THE WEST'S ORIGINAL PROPOSALS AND ADDED MARKEDLY TO THE BURDEN THAT WEST WOULD ASSUME UNDER SUCH AN AGREEMENT.

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R 311457Z JAN 78  
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2614  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0013

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM USREP MBFR

9. INSTEAD, THE EAST ADVANCED, IN FEBRUARY 1976, AN  
INADEQUATE PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD STILL REQUIRE THE WEST TO  
ADOPT ALL THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE PROPOSALS ORIGINALLY  
PUT FORWARD BY THE EAST IN NOVEMBER 1973.

10. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS SHOULD BEGIN TO USE OUTCOME AS  
THE CRITERIOR FOR MEASURING THE ACCEPTABILITY OF AN  
AGREEMENT SINCE IT IS THE OUTCOME WHICH WILL DETERMINE  
WHETHER THE MUTUALLY ESTABLISHED GOALS OF THESE NEGO-  
TIATIONS WILL HAVE BEEN ATTAINED.

11. THE EAST'S MECHANISTIC AND UNREALISTIC REDUCTION  
APPROACH TREATS ALL PARTICIPANTS AS IF THEY WERE IDENTICAL  
THEREBY IGNORING SUCH REALITIES AS EXISTING EASTERN  
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MANPOWER AND ARMAMENTS SUPERIORITIES AND THE EAST'S  
GEOGRAPHIC ADVANTAGES.

12. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EASTERN REDUCTION APPROACH  
WOULD UNDERMINE WESTERN SECURITY BY CONTRACTUALIZING  
EASTERN FORCE SUPERIORITIES, MAGNIFYING EASTERN  
GEOGRAPHIC ADVANTAGES AND IMPAIRING WESTERN COLLECTIVE  
DEFENSE EFFORTS.

13. THE WESTERN APPROACH, BY CONTRAST, IS REALISTIC IN PROVIDING FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND FORCES, A COMBINED COMMON CEILING, AND COLLECTIVE MANPOWER LIMITATION IN CONJUNCTION WITH SPECIFIC LIMITATIONS ON US AND SOVIET FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA AND FOR THE SELECTIVE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.

14. THE EAST SHOULD ACKNOWLEDGE THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS IMPLICITYLY RECOGNIZED OUTCOME AS THE STANDARD FOR JUDGING AN AGREEMENT WHEN THEY ENDORSED ENHANCED STABILITY AND STRENGTHENED PEACE AND SECURITY AS THE PURPOSE OF THESE TALKS.

15. ASSOCIATED MEASURES AND FLANK SECURITY ARE OTHER TOPICS WHICH THE EAST SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS CONSTRUCTIVELY IN THIS ROUND.

16. THE EAST SHOULD CONCRETELY DEMONSTRATE ITS FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED DESIRE FOR PROGRESS BY MOVING ALONG THE LINES INDICATED AND, SPECIFICALLY IN THIS REGARD, BY COOPERATING IN EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE EXISTING DIFFERENCES CONCERNING MANPOWER DATA--AS A PRINCIPAL ORDER OF BUSINESS IN THE NEW ROUND.

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